

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE

58 EAST 68TH STREET

NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

January 7, 1952

Allen W. Dulles, Esq.

Dear Allen:

I have asked Harpers to send you, as a member of the Committee on Studies, an advance copy of CHALLENGE TO ISOLATION with the compliments of the Council. This is the first volume of the Langer-Gleason history of the foreign relations of the United States during World War II. It is the first result of one of the Council's major postwar research and publication projects, and I hope you will feel that this first volume is a competent job.

The first five chapters of Volume III have already been received and I have had word that the next five are nearing completion. It is the plan of the authors to finish the revision of Volume II before the summer, and we hope to publish it about a year from now.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Walter H. Mallory
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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The undersigned group, designated by the Council on Foreign Relations to study our country's political, economic and military responsibilities in Europe, have reached certain conclusions regarding decisions and action now necessary. We are led to lay them before you by the conviction that our country and other countries still free are in critical danger: that if our potential enemies choose to attack us in our present posture we face disastrous reverses. This situation can be redeemed only by immediate and unified exertion and sacrifice.

We respectfully submit to you the following as our analysis of the country's danger and of what must be done to overcome it now. Today we run the risk of global war; the initiation of the steps we propose would not increase it, and their completion would markedly diminish it.

a. A free world, disunited, is certain to fall piecemeal under the tyrannical power of Soviet imperialism.

b. The nations comprising the North Atlantic Treaty Organization today command such ^{totally} pitifully inadequate military force that it is fair to assume that only our present superiority in atomic weapons and a Soviet economic and political unreadiness to risk the consequences of a war of attrition against the U. S. have maintained an uneasy peace in Europe.

c. The only way in which we and our friends can make the Soviets respect our peaceful intent and moral purposes will be by rapidly producing powerful military forces. This effort should be limited only by the productive capacity of a free economy. The price is sacrifice by all in the whole free world, including definite recessions in our standard of living through payment of taxes, longer work hours, and military service as an obligation of citizenship. No war premiums should go to capital or labor.

d. We warn especially against dependence upon paper agreements that do not reflect the determined will of cooperating peoples, speedily

implemented by rapid creation of forces.

e. The U. S. must not, under any circumstances, accept national responsibility for military command in Europe except as a consequence of the mutual confidence engendered by ^{a concrete program for the} [successful inauguration of] mobilization of forces in North America and in West European countries, ^{backed by Government pledge of prompt execution,} among the N.A.T.O. countries and with the authorities in West Germany for the use of her military potential in defense of Western Europe.

f. Our own national efforts can attain maximum effectiveness only if we:

- (1) Recognize that we are in a state of national emergency.
- (2) Tell the people the bleak facts. They will respond.
- (3) Expedite, with all possible urgency, the placing of ^{our} orders for ^{and for other nations ready to fight with us,} military requirements, emphasizing speed and efficiency and minimum costs. Cut non-essential spending to the bone.
- (4) Produce military forces at maximum speed and minimum costs under a system of universal military service, and build up reserve forces as well as adequate strength in being.

(5) Station in Europe, as soon as possible, *a strong U.S. ground*
~~some~~ 20 U. S.

force
~~divisions~~, step-by-step with the development, in the several

countries of Western Europe, of an agreed upon comparable force. *There should be*
special concern for the strength of the U.S. ground forces during

(6) Provide, with our allies, adequate air support and naval

Land

forces capable of controlling sea lanes wherever our interests are

the early
critical
years.

involved. Strategic air strength should be equal to the demands

of an effective bombing attack in the event of war.

(7) Do all things that will produce the strength necessary to

carry us through the tensions of an indefinite future, without war

if possible, but prepared to wage it effectively if it is thrust

upon us. Do this with full determination that whatever individual

liberties we sacrifice to produce and maintain necessary force

will be restored when the imminent danger of foreign aggression

subsides.

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It seems to me that the writer of this letter has fallen into the trap that deludes so many thinking people. This is a blind faith in the belief that in our relationships with the Kremlin, we can deal on a "do unto others" basis.

History is replete with examples that there can be no greater fallacy.

Here, we are at grips with a maniacal campaign, outdoing Machiavelli in its insidiousness, to conquer and enslave the world. An illustration of this insidiousness is the letter writer's apparently honest conviction that we are forcing the Kremlin into an armaments race. If I am not greatly mistaken, this is the very line of thought that the Kremlin wants to encourage, here, in its own country and throughout the world.

To a psychopathic governing clique that respects only naked force and power, any diminution of our effort to strengthen ourselves and our friends would be interpreted surely as a sign of weakness, of appeasement, ripe for exploiting. To this extent we, ourselves, would hasten rather than defer the day of a showdown of force.

SPR

5/12/52

1. I agree with your comments -
2. Is it possible that the "misguided soul" of Neville Chamberlain has been reincarnated?

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

L-244

INSTRUCTIONS.—Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM:

DDCI

NO.

ER 2-8267

DATE

10 April 52

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TO—	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
		RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. DC-PY	APR 24 1951				
			5/3		I find this compels
			18 May		some second thoughts.
			1/13		a would be most interested
			19 May		in hearing you.
	MAY 20 1952		5/22		
DDCI					3 to 6 - See attached comments by [redacted]
8.					4 to 6 - Dague notes 3.
9.					The order seems absolutely unavoidable to me.
10.					5 to 6: This gentleman writes like a master and thinks like a moron. How in the world can he explain away the dis- mantling of Western military strength in 1945 and the dire consequences which ensued, such as the attempt to take over Greece, the take-over of Czechoslovakia, and, in the absence of opposing strength, the attempt to seize Berlin in 1948, and the South Korean attack of 1950? Tito had the clairvoyance to see what was in store for him; hence, his break from the Cominform in June 1948. Why, with all the historical events fresh in mind, do pseudo-liberalists tend to (over)
11.					
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FORM 51-9

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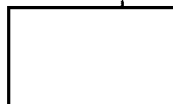
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blame the U. S. for the world tensions? It is an unconceivable state of thinking to me how this type of people succumb to the honeyed words of "co-existence," when the facts of the matter point to the ~~opposite~~ as being a reality. We took the initiative with the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty and are following it up with the contractual Bonn Agreement. Of course, it riles the Kremlin, because we are forcing the events of history our way--these are elements of building up strength for realigning the balance of power. Militant communism will fill all vacuums, as it has in the past, and only a display of strength to oppose will deter them from their world domination goal. We can't play this international game of poker for high stakes without chips. Although history is the sequence of historical accidents, they occur because one power believes itself in a position to call the turn.

I do not subscribe or even see the logic to the reasoning presented in this paper.



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